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before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any great effect.

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The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,¹ it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

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Another factor working towards the diminution of the population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

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If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in those sections of the Toda community which have been most subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdrs, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

¹ *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

and expensive for the *mokhthodvaiol* than for the husband. Further, in some cases the *sedvaitasmokh* of a Teivali man may live with him exactly in the same way as a wife. Except for the prohibition against Teivali women living at Tarthar villages, and the important difference in the mode of descent of the children there seems to be little essential difference in some cases between the *mokhthoditi* union and marriage. In describing the institution, one of my informants laid great stress on the disability of a man of one division to perform the *pursūlpimi* ceremony for a woman of the other division and treated this as the essential point of difference. He seemed to regard this ceremonial disability as primary and the other differences as the secondary results, but I do not know how far this is the general Toda view.

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SEXUAL MORALITY

From the foregoing account it appears that a woman may have one or more recognised lovers as well as several husbands. From the account given of the dairy ritual, it appears that she may also have sexual relations with dairymen of various grades—that, for instance, the *wursoi*, on the nights when he sleeps in the hut, may be the lover of any Tarthar girl. Further, there seems to be no doubt that there is little restriction of any kind on sexual intercourse. I was assured by several Todas not only that adultery was no motive for divorce, but that it was in no way regarded as wrong. It seemed clear that there is no word for adultery in the Toda language. My interpreter, Samuel, had translated the Commandments shortly before my visit, and only discovered while working with me that the expression he had used in translating the seventh Commandment really bore a very different meaning.

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When a word for a concept is absent in any language it by no means follows that the concept has not been developed, but in this case I have little doubt that there is no definite idea in the mind of the Toda corresponding to that denoted by our word 'adultery.' Instead of adultery being regarded as

should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot. 835

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursiitpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursiitpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *padmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life. 836
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From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as 181
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181 Mr. Punnett has suggested elsewhere,¹ a reason why polyandry is so rare a form of marriage. The practice of polyandry must almost inevitably weaken the sentiment of possession on the part of the man which does so much to maintain the more ordinary forms of marriage.

831 [177] The low sexual morality of the Todas is not, however, limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri Hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that in this respect the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed.

[144] That the Todas are perhaps not so black as they are painted is suggested by two considerations. There is little evidence of the existence of many half-breeds. I examined in one way or another over 500 Todas and must have seen nearly the whole of the 800 people who form the Toda population. I saw few who suggested Tamil or Badaga intermixture and only one boy whose appearance suggested European parentage. A more careful examination than I gave might, however, have revealed other suspicious cases, and perhaps in a race which practices infanticide the absence or paucity of half-breeds may not carry much weight.

The other consideration is of a different kind and tends to show not only that the Todas are not so black as they are painted, but that they are not so black as they paint themselves.

743 By means of the genealogical record I was able to work out the relationship to one another of forty-three individuals suffering from colour-blindness. Since this condition runs mainly in the female line, it does not afford very cogent evidence of paternity; but a full examination of my records

¹ *Loc. cit.*

seems to show that colour-blind men, or rather males of colour-blind families, had colour-blind descendants more often than perhaps might have been expected if the Todas are in practice quite as promiscuous as their social regulations allow them to be. The record of the affinity of the colour-blind suggests that in spite of the theoretical promiscuity, the husbands are, in practice, very often the fathers of their children.

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A few histories of individuals may be given as examples of the various marriage customs which have been described in this chapter. One of the most married of Toda women is Puvizveli of Kusharf (65). She was married in infancy to Singudr (55), of the same clan as Sinkors, the mother of Puvizveli, and the two were probably the *matchuni* of one another, though only in a distant way. Puvizveli was taken from Singudr by Madsu and Koboners (58), who gave for her three buffaloes. From them she was transferred to Kangudr of Piedr (62), it being arranged that he should pay eleven buffaloes. Soon after joining Kangudr, Puvizveli became ill, and since there is a prohibition of marriages between the clans of Piedr and Kusharf, it was agreed that the pair should separate, and the woman was taken by Tütners and Etamudri (58). The eleven buffaloes had never been paid by Kangudr, so Tütners and his brother gave their buffaloes directly to Madsu and Koboners, but only four instead of eleven. All these transactions took place while Puvizveli was still young, but by her new husbands she had a son who died soon after birth. During her second pregnancy, she was taken by Perpakh and Tebkudr (68), who gave six buffaloes. The transference took place before the *pursiutpini* ceremony had been performed. Perpakh gave the bow and arrow, and the daughter since born is regarded as the child of Perpakh and Tebkudr. Puvizveli has also a Tarthar *mokhthodvaiol*.

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Edjog of Kuudr (56) was married in infancy to Nargudr (62), the son of her mother's brothers, and therefore her *matchuni* in the nearest sense. From him Kiudners (70) and his two brothers took her for five buffaloes. Kiudners died

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order to strengthen a new-born child, they smeared it all over with butter and put it in front of the fire; as a result the child died. Another is called mukorðurktoirjvm/vojvojjoif, "people of the house of those who carried large baskets to the mukor swamp" or moivyoipodmōlydārtvojvojjoif, "people of the house of those who ground pepper without seeing the deer." It is told that seeing carrion-eating birds circling over a swamp they assumed that there was a dead deer there and went off with large baskets to bring back the flesh, telling the women meanwhile to grind a large heap of pepper for the curry. Of the other two, more indelicate stories are told. One is called pikukvėpvotsvojvojjoif, "people of the house of one who put butter on the navel." A woman covered her navel with butter and made a dog lick it and have intercourse with her. The other is called pult švojjoif. It is said that formerly a man and woman of this poljoif had sexual intercourse with one another. The women of this line are said to be particularly strong in their sexual passions; the verb with this meaning artsti, "she is passionate," and the noun arikn, "passionate woman" are tabooed under the conditions described below, and it is said that the element pult š-, not otherwise found, has the meaning of these tabooed words.

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Six poljoif of the tōtviļj survive: one other is known to have become extinct some years ago with the death of kūmısjūmıř of the ko/emoiř (Kurikudr in Rivers' Table 72). The others are as follows. The āstvayđ-urřpodjvætoidjvojvojjoif, "people of the house of one who hunted the pig in the āstvax swamp" are so named because one of the line hunted a pig which he had seen for a whole day and night and yet let it escape him. Another is called nōipgoitkvarıyartjvojvojjoif, "people of the house of those who sent fuel to nōipgoir." Men of this line saw a hare, and intending to hunt it for food, set the family to work to collect fuel to roast it for three days. A third is called oirvmtıyairjvojvojjoif. The story is the same as for the oirvmtıyairkvojvojjoif of the other division, except that the cakes were in a basket mukeirj, to which the element keirj in the name is equivalent. Another, the pevmtıyolıjvojvojjoif, "people of the house of the stealer of a large piece of meat," are so named because one of the line stole a large piece of meat at the sacrifice of a calf (aırymıtt, "act of killing male buffalo").⁹ A fifth is called kmdıryoiıvıřt řetapeřkōkřvojvojjoif, "people of the house of one who seizing a horse's leg pole-vaulted." It is told that a man, finding a dead horse, cut off the leg and vaulted with it until he reached the door of a house where he was beaten by the occupants. The last is called řınřđ-kōřkojvmpaıřpıřtıvıřkwtıvojvojjoif, "people of the house of one who taking the milking-pot in his left hand at the tıř dairy called řınřđ broke

⁹ See Rivers, p. 274.

4 [Sets of poljoif among the totřdas - ANALYST]

§8. In many of the names the substituted suffix is -küür. This is clearly the noun küür "stream," "path," or "horn." One man küüngüür (63, Kwongudr) is named after küüngüür, the meeting place of the assembly of the tribe; the place-name is that of a stream flowing in the valley at this place. noirgüür (62, Nargudr) < a stream and pool near the mund tögow. In some other personal names it is probable that this suffix has reference to a stream; e.g. iqxüür (21, Idrakhwödr) < iqsaf, a valley (paf) near the mund torroir; idaxüür (23, Idjkudr) < idzaf, a valley near the mund pašoir; in both these cases the valley has a stream. töürxüür (63, Terkudr) < a path near the mund wpuwgoir. In many other names however -küür can have no reference to a stream or a path, and there is great probability that the word küür has its other meaning "horn;" so in fact the Todas analyse the names. The horns of their buffaloes are much admired by the Todas, and in such a buffalo-centred culture it is not surprising that "horn" should be an element in names. This use is clear in such a name as kæinxüür (62, Kangudr), where kæin refers to a sacred buffalo of his sib. Such a case as kerxüür (63, Kergudr) < the mund kerxoir, is much less obvious and is clearly of the same nature as those names discussed in §9. The word has come to be felt as a suffix that may be used with little regard to the meaning but merely for the connotive force. For the specific origin of the use we may, however, reasonably look to the use of stream-names and path-names and the presence in the language of the homonyms küür "stream" or "path" and küür "horn."

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* I have made this specific analysis for the benefit of psychologists who may wish to find in these personal names a phallic significance. Such a significance is certainly not there on the surface. Moreover, in the erotic songs which I have recorded, where phallic symbolism is to be looked for, the horn does not occur as a phallic symbol. A number of such symbols that are used are given in the following paragraphs.

The most common symbolism that is to be regarded as sexual is that of the bee and the flower: a specimen of this type is given in *The Songs of the Todas*, p. 351. I also remark there that the same metaphor is used of a man catching a buffalo at a funeral, and finally in a marginal use to describe the activities of the bed-bug.

In one of the songs in which a woman is represented as talking about the party that had come to carry her off to give her in marriage to an old man comes the couplet:

paŋyamiŋ
flower-like [fruit
torjameŋ
pole-who are-men

paŋt aŋm
crowd-for I became
taŋt aŋm
bushes-to they became

La. "For the crowd of Toda men I have become a lime; men who are (or, who have) long poles have hidden in the bushes to carry me off." The torjfa a long pole carried at a two-day funeral; reference to the lime is common in such connections, especially as a vocative addressed to a beautiful woman. The informants said that in this passage there is another meaning, viz. that since the husband is old, she thinks that all the Todas will come to have intercourse with

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§9. The frequent suffix -küwɛp has defied analysis. Rivers² thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in pwtʃoxküwɛp (a son of sirjair 20) <pwtʃox, a mountain near the mund torroir, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in twɛpɛwɛp (20; referred in §6) <twɛpɛwɛp, the kogfofj dairy at torroir; kɛɛwɛp, son of toilitj and nertnɛs (24, Tɔleidi and Nertinera) <kɛɛwɛp, the ɔwɛfj dairy at the mund korkos. A son of kɔwɛm of the pɛwɛfj (34, Kwodron) is named ɔwɛpɛwɛp <ɔwɛp, the buffaloes of the ti of this sib. kɔkɛjɛwɛp (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the Badaga name of another man kekɛjɛwɛp in table 25) <kɔkɛjɛwɛp, the name of buffalo-track (kuɔd) leading to the mund torroir.

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§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -tɛwɛ; e.g. in karɔfɛwɛ (21, Karadrɛwɛ) <karɔfɛwɛ, name of a mountain (tɛwɛ) near torroir; wɛkɛwɛwɛwɛ (24, Idrɛwɛwɛwɛ) <wɛkɛwɛwɛwɛ, a river (pɛwɛ) near Mt. karor; pwtʃɛfɛwɛ (24, Pachievan) <pwtʃɛfɛwɛ, a mountain near torroir (cf. pwtʃoxküwɛp in §9); kɛwɛfɛwɛ (25, Kɛwɛfɛwɛ) <kɛwɛfɛwɛ, a stream near the mund pɛstair; ɔwɛfɛwɛ <ɔwɛp, the buffaloes of the ti belonging to the pɛwɛfj, is another name of pɛwɛfj (35, Patirah; cf. ɔwɛpɛwɛp in §9); mupɛfɛwɛ (16, Mopuwan) <mupɛfɛwɛ, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pɛwɛfɛwɛ or pɛwɛfɛwɛ, kɛmɔdɛ or kɛmɔdɛfɛwɛ; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is mɛwɛ, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word pɛwɛ, which is the only possibility, means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.³

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her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

² Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

³ In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. The three meanings given for pɛwɛ belong to those South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -tɛwɛ derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

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§11. Another frequent suffix is *-nuz*. It is found also in a number of *kāsm* of munda and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. *mymj* of the *kūrtuŋtoŋ* is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first *kāsm* is *pairnuz* which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (*nuz*) of the 1600 (*pairnuz*) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (*pairnuz*) and 1800 (*puŋpuŋ*) in number. If this is correct, *nuz*, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem *nui-* "to stand;" the change of *l* to *s* is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the *kāsm* *koinuz* of the *mud nyiŋ* of the *melguŋtoŋ* is to be interpreted as *koin-nuz* "the place of the god *koin*;" *koin* or *koinŋū* is the mountain near this *mud*. The first *kāsm* of the *mud melguŋ* is *nainuz*, clearly to be connected with the two *kāsm* of the people of this sib, *nauŋor*, *naiŋep*, the first of which has the element *toŋ* which means the endogamous moiety *toŋŋaŋtoŋ* as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first *kāsm* of the *buffaloes* of this sib, *naiŋŋ*, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at *melguŋ*, *naiŋtū* (i.e. *nai-tū* "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element *nuz* means is quite unknown; but *nainuz* is "the place of the *nai*." Two munda, *kūŋ* of the *kūrtuŋtoŋ* and *kūŋŋŋŋ* of the *puŋgoŋtoŋ*, have *kūŋtemuz* as their first *kāsm*. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of *kūŋtem* (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the *mōroŋ* sib);" what connection he had with these two munda is unknown. Two place-names, not *kāsm*, with this element are *poŋjnuŋ* "the place of the funeral-burial," a male funeral-place of the *kūrtuŋtoŋ*, and *masnuŋ*, a female funeral-place of the *mōroŋ*, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element *-nuz* is appropriate in place-names and *kāsm* of munda. A brother of *moŋgiŋŋ* (15, *Mongeithi*), not recorded in the tables, is *kūŋdnuŋ*, whose name is the first *kāsm* of the *mud kiŋker* of his sib. *kūŋnuŋ* (56, *Karsnera*) < the first *kāsm* of the *mud taiŋmūŋ* of his sib. The name *kinuz* (26, *Kiner*) is derived from *kinuŋnuŋ*, the first *kāsm* of the *mud kōroŋ*, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in *-nuz*. For it is certain that *-nuz* is now felt as a

is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be suggested, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-tabooes work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Tabooes*, p. 110).

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[177] the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief
 [771] in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five
 years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core
 of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in
 Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set
 up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such
 changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing
 no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage
 [178] customs attempted by kumajiff and recorded by Rivers, which
 [582] would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conser-
 vatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and
 [425] that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of
 [426] land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long
 before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has
 not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made
 [657] by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life
 of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be
 guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against
 breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it
 was thirty-five years ago.

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 197 There remains the important question of the effect of outside
 influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906
 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): "The Census Reports and the
 genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda
 population about the middle of the last century which has now
 ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly
 in number.....Any decrease.....was the direct result of the
 changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri
 Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influence, injur-
 ious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we
 should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems
 [114] to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe
 and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly
 occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with
 the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the
 great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women
 [831] by the polyandrous system combined with the monogamous
 institution by which a woman has at least one "lover"
 belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

Toda culture thirty-five years after

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irregular intercourse brings about frequent early miscarriage and perhaps absolute sterility. When we pass to the figures of the actual population, it is found that Rivers' guess that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers is not borne out by the crude Census figures of 1911, 1931, and 1931.¹ The figures are: in 1901 807, in 1911 676 (which is the corrected figure given by the Census officer after deducting double enumerations), in 1921 640, in 1931 597. It was suggested by the Census officer that the great apparent decline in 1901-11 is in reality due to double enumerations in 1901. The declines in the two succeeding decades are due in large part to epidemics, influenza in 1918-9 and relapsing fever in 1923-4. A subsidiary census in 1927, which yielded the figure of 582 and seems to have been carried out carefully, provides us with two figures which show that between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1931, with no epidemic intervening, there was a slight increase in population, worked out by the Census officer as equivalent to an increase of about $8\frac{1}{4}$ per cent for a decade. The lack of vital-statistics throws us back on the crude population figures, which are highly unsatisfactory for results that will mean anything. The decade 1931-41 has so far been free from epidemics. If this happy state continues, it may be anticipated that the figures in 1941 will show an increase comparable with that between 1927 and 1931. But the high mortality of this tribe during epidemics, due in part to lack of immunity, but perhaps even more to crude, insanitary living conditions, is a constant danger to the continued existence and functioning of so small a community. The introduction of contagious disease to the community by the immigrant inhabitants of the hills is easily the point where outside influences have made the greatest impact on the Todas.

¹ See Census of India, 1931, reference given in note 1.

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tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *totijof* ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties¹⁴ give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that actual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that *siŋiŋi* (*Siŋiŋi*, 30) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister *ezog* (*Edjog*). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventuresomeness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,¹⁵ and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

¹⁴ An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's *totijof*. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should countenance socially its biological father. *Makniŋ* (*Makniŋ*), wife of *tukitŋi* of the *noŋ* patrilineal sib (*Tukitŋi*, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, *tiŋiŋi* (*Tev*), looked like his mother's *totijof*, *noŋ* of the *piŋiŋ* patrilineal sib (*Makniŋ*, 64), also called *kutŋi* (he reared the children after *tukitŋi* died). In a quarrel *tiŋiŋi* might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: *noŋ*-*noŋ* "son of *noŋ*" or *kutŋi*-*noŋ* "son of *kutŋi*," or as *noŋ* or *kutŋi*.

¹⁵ S. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1896), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chamarajane Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannaḍa language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Puppa Dandaditya, of the Hoysala king Vijayaditya (Bijjala Hoysala Devara). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjevanna, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

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595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzgwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzgwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never took place, and should never do so, on the *ertülkh*, the raised earthen platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:ijoff* (*terersht*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

to note that there "are many more irregular liaisons, not provided by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered". Of course, with a system of child-marriage and of socially determined paternity through the *pursilipimi* ceremony, both of which to a large extent guard against the danger of illegitimate births, the fear of begetting children out of wedlock is much less than in other cultures; and consequently does not act as much as a deterrent here, with the Todas, as it would, I suppose, elsewhere. 831

In spite of careful questioning and observation, I could find no cases of impotence with men or of frigidity with women. Kuriolv, as recorded earlier (see above, p. 259), was evidently an exception in this regard, but his was a physiological impotence, due to a past accident while catching a buffalo at a funeral, and cannot, therefore, be considered as contradicting these findings. 833

B. SPECIAL STUDY: MELGARSH

This special study of the Melgarsh mund of the Todas of the Nilgiris has already been published in part in *Drives, Affects, Behaviour*, Edited by Rudolph M. Loewenstein, M.D. at the International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1953. It is, however, elaborated in what follows with special emphasis on the anthropological description of polyandry within one family unit; observation of the children's behaviour is the subject of an addendum. 114

1. THE MELGARSH CLAN

The Melgarsh clan belongs to the Tardharsh moiety, but it differs in many ways from the others of its kind. Because of this, it appeared to W. H. R. Rivers as intermediate between Tardharsh and Teivilkh, and he even put the hypothesis forward, denied, however, by the Todas, that originally it may have belonged to the latter half of the tribe. 614

It is not necessary here to go into all the differences that put Melgarsh at variance with the other Tardharsh clans; readers interested in the subject are referred to Rivers' book. Suffice it to say that the Melgarsh people enjoy special privileges in connection with the dairy-temples — such as supplying *wursols* and *kaltmokhs* (the latter, attendants of the *palof*), taking food and buttermilk in the sacred enclosures of the *ti-mad* — the exclusive right of milking a buffalo to provide milk for a 616 554

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THE POLYANDRY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

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not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mad* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air.

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the on-looking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar.

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.)

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras; but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me.

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made